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Editorial

UNTIL 15 December the Editor's address will continue to be 8 The Cloisters, Windsor Castle; after that date it will be King's College, Cambridge.

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For some years we published each December a list of outstanding books of general theological interest that had been reviewed in THEOLOGY during the previous twelve months. We stopped doing so, because the making of such a selection seemed too invidious, if not too presumptuous. December is however a month when our readers are likely to be giving special consideration to the purchase of books, and there are three before us that we much wish to recommend to their attention.

The first is *St John's Gospel: a commentary*, by R. H. Lightfoot, edited by C. F. Evans.[1] It is a dogma with us that every clergyman ought always to have on hand a good commentary on a book of the Bible, through which he is steadily working (and the dogma can be extended to embrace many laymen,[2] particularly among the readers of THEOLOGY). Some of the best commentaries, of course, assume a knowledge of foreign languages and too much of an aptitude for recondite learning to come within the terms of so general a dogma. But Lightfoot's *St John's Gospel* was originally intended for the Clarendon Bible, and so, although it outgrew the scope of that series, it is based entirely on the English text (R.V.), presupposes no special linguistic equipment in its readers, and eschews most of the apparatus of erudition. Those, however, need be no more than negative advantages. This commentary has immense positive merits. It is primarily an exposition of the meaning of the text of the Gospel: indeed, its sub-title should perhaps have been "an *expository* commentary".[3] It is the fruit of many years' study by a scholar who did more perhaps than any other of his generation to open fresh doors into the understanding of the Gospels.[4] The secret of Lightfoot's method is disclosed in a passage that occurs in an appended note in the present volume.

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[1] Clarendon Press, 30s.

[2] "Nor will Christian laymen . . . ever do the work they ought to do for Christ in this country till they are willing to become serious students of the Bible and of theology."—Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, *Ten-Minute Sermons*, p. 135.

[3] That is the sub-title of Dr J. A. Findlay's *The Fourth Gospel* (Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.) which was published about the same time as Lightfoot's book, but which seems, despite the lively way in which it is written, to be in every sense a slight work if it is compared with Lightfoot's.

[4] Cp. what we wrote in THEOLOGY, February 1951, p. 41.

> Anyone who studies St John's gospel for long is likely to be impressed, not only by the extreme care with which it is written, a care extending to the smallest details, but also by the subtlety and elusiveness of the author. A passage which in itself, and at first sight, may seem to have a plain and obvious meaning and no more, will perhaps be found, when studied more closely and brought into connexion with other passages of the gospel and, above all, with the thought and teaching of the book as a whole, to take on, in addition to the plain and obvious sense, a meaning or meanings of a deeper sort, with religious implications which only gradually become apparent (p. 349).

The commentary enables the reader to follow Lightfoot step by step as he was led to discover the hidden meaning of the Gospel and —since he supplies abundant cross-references—to judge whether it was not a discovery of what is really there, i.e. of what the evangelist intended to convey. This is a book—like Dr L. S. Thornton's *The Common Life in the Body of Christ*—for meditative reading—and re-reading—over many months. It is written "from faith to faith". While no one is likely to be convinced by all Lightfoot's conclusions and suggestions, we cannot imagine how anyone can fail to see that the interpretation which he unfolds makes St John's Gospel more luminous than it had ever seemed before—except perhaps to its earliest readers.

At the time of his death in 1953, Lightfoot had completed the commentary proper, i.e. the exposition and notes, and had drafted various sections of a possible introduction, which have been skilfully put together by Mr Evans. Though Lightfoot was of course well acquainted with the work of other scholars, both British and foreign, he hardly ever refers to them directly. His attention, and the attention of his readers, is concentrated on the Bible itself.

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Secondly, there is Professor Paul Tillich's volume of sermons, *The New Being*[1]—the sequel to his earlier volume, *The Shaking of the Foundations*. If you give this to your vicar as a Christmas present, do not encourage him to suppose that he will find here material which he can directly reproduce in the parish pulpit. These sermons were mostly delivered in colleges and universities, and appropriately so, for Tillich is a preachers' preacher and a theologians' theologian. His sermons are essays in "con-templation" which he defines as "going into the temple, into the sphere of the holy, into the deep roots of things, into their creative ground". That is where he takes you whether he is speaking about principalities and powers, or prayer, or joy, or Martha and Mary, or Ecclesiastes. The reader who can follow Tillich at all will keep on seeing what is meant by words from the Lord that add a dimension to the dimension in which we ordinarily live. The parish priest has the harder task of speaking about these things in a manner that meets ordinary people where they at present are. But Tillich can help him, and can help us all, to see and hear what it is we should be wanting to say. Tillich's style is

[1] S.C.M. Press, 12s. 6d.

very different from Lightfoot's, but they would have understood one another well. Speaking about St Matthew's narrative of the crucifixion, Tillich says: "We should *not* ask whether clouds or a dust storm darkened the sun on a special day of a special year, whether an earthquake happened in Palestine just at that hour, whether the curtain before the holy of holies in the temple at Jerusalem had to be repaired or whether the raised bodies of the saints died again. But we *should* ask whether we are able to feel with the evangelists and the painters, with the children and the Roman soldiers, that the event at Golgotha is one which concerns the universe, including all nature and all history."

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The third book we would recommend is one that would certainly be welcomed as a present by any Christian man or woman. *In His Name: prayers for the church and the world,* by George Appleton,[1] is one of the best manuals of its kind that we have come across. It is equally suitable for private use, for prayer meetings, and for public worship "after the third collect". Seventy forms of praise, thanksgiving, intercession and dedication are provided. Each begins with well-chosen texts from the Bible (R.S.V.), and for the prayers the editor has drawn on a wealth of resources, liturgical and non-liturgical. The book is moderately priced and is likely to be used very extensively. It certainly deserves to be.

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In next month's issue it will be found that the names of the members of the THEOLOGY Advisory Committee will have disappeared from the inside of the cover. The reason for their disappearance is not that the Editor will no longer be needing or seeking good advice, but that in Cambridge it will be so easily accessible and in such profusion that there will be no justification for inviting advisers to foregather periodically from more or less considerable distances. He wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his sense of gratitude to the present Advisory Committee. He alone knows in how many ways he has been indebted to its members. The help they have given him is not of a kind that can be measured or summarized, but it is not irrelevant to note that during the past ten years the circulation of THEOLOGY has been doubled, and that it has continued to increase during the past year.

The Parish Newspaper

THE question in the town parish is not so much "How shall they hear without a preacher?" as "How shall the preacher make himself heard?" It is a depressing exercise for the incumbent of an industrial parish—to whose charge is committed the care of all the souls in the

[1] Edinburgh House Press and Macmillan, 9s. 6d.

parish—to work out the percentage of his parishioners with which he (and his staff) comes into contact in the course of a month.

In church and through the various organizations he will meet 5 per cent. if he is lucky, and as systematic and regular visiting of non-churchgoers is out of the question in most parishes, his main contact with "outsiders" will be through baptisms, marriages and deaths. How can he make any impact on the rest? They stedfastly refuse to turn up to mission services, open meetings, brains trusts, etc. The only means left by which the parish priest can try to bring the teaching, the news, indeed the fact of the existence, of the Church before large numbers of his non-churchgoing parishioners is through the written word.

Any good "outward looking" parish publication will keep people informed about what is going on and help to show the relevance of

PARISH NEWSPAPERS

Parish Population Staff	Name of Paper	Circulation of old Magazine	Circulation of Newspaper	Time taken to achieve Increase	Price and Annual Profit
St Mark's, Portsmouth 23,000 Vicar and five	*North End Review*	650	3,900	20 months	3d. £120
St Dunstan's, Stepney 33,000 Rector and seven	*Step Ahoy*	700	3,800	2 years	3d. Small profit
St Mary, Hunslet, Leeds 32,000 Vicar and three	*Hunslet News*	900	2,900*	1 year	3d. £60
All Saints, Hanworth, Middlesex 10,000 Vicar and one	*Hanworth Herald*	380	2,200*	4 months	3d. Breaks even
St Silas, Pentonville, London 14,000 Vicar and three	*St Silas Newspaper*	400	2,100	3 years	3d. Small profit
St Luke's, Tranmere 4,600 Vicar	*St Luke's Newspaper*	200	1,400*	8 months	3d. Small profit
St Peter's, Barnsley 10,000 Vicar	*St Peter's Newspaper*	425	1,200*	1 year	3d. Small profit

* As a questionnaire was sent to these parishes some months ago their present circulation may now be higher than the figure stated.

the Christian Faith, break down barriers and clear away misconceptions about the Church which inevitably arise in the minds of many whose main reading matter is the popular national dailies. Above all, the magazine provides a means whereby subscribers are called on each month by one of the "faithful". The value of the monthly visit by the distributor, if he makes use of his opportunities, can hardly be over-emphasized.

Recently, a new type of parish publication—the monthly pictorial newspaper—has been started which has very considerable advantages over the magazine. The Rev. Edwin Young, now Rector of Stepney, produced the first parish newspaper (which still flourishes) in 1948 when he was Vicar of St Silas, Pentonville. It is difficult to discover how many parishes have followed his example, but it must now be about twenty, and, to judge by the number of inquiries which editors of existing newspapers receive, there must be several hundred incumbents planning to start a newspaper.

The pages of the majority of the newspapers are about the same size as the pages of the *Church Times*, but printed on cheap quality art paper which is better for the production of photographic blocks than ordinary newsprint. They vary in size from four to eight pages.

Their main advantages seem to be:

(1) They are extremely popular. The above table shows that circulations have soared on the introduction of the newspaper. It will also be noticed that it is practicable for quite small parishes worked by one priest (in which little or no lay help on the editorial side is possible) to produce a paper which makes a profit.

The reason for their popularity is not so much their contents, which in some papers are not very different from those of the ordinary magazine, as the fact that it is a newspaper. Magazines, with several pages of advertisements and a page of services to be waded through before the first news item—a page of print headed by "My dear People"—do not appeal to those whose only other reading matter is the newspaper.

The national newspapers have noticed the popularity of the parish newspaper, and the *Daily Mirror* "honoured" them with a whole page headed "Pop parsons sell religion with Pinups". Unwittingly this article has probably done more harm than good to their cause. They are not as vulgar as readers of the article may have been led to suppose!

On the assumption that there are three people in each home (in the poorer parishes there will probably be four per house) and allowing for 10 per cent. of the papers being sold outside the parish, of the papers in the table above, *St Luke's Newspaper* is going into almost every home, while the *Hunslet News*, which in relation to the population of the parish has the smallest circulation, is going into 25 per cent. of the homes. In the "poorer" parishes many papers are passed to the people next door, so a considerably larger percentage of families see the paper than the figures suggest.

In short, the parish newspaper really does reach the outsider and helps to make the Church parochial rather than congregational, and

gives the incumbent a platform from which he can reach a large number of his people.

(2) Men read it! This is shown by the number that are sold in public houses—*Step Ahoy* (800), *St Peter's Newspaper* (500), *North End Review* (350). Parish papers find their way into factory canteens and men have even been seen reading them on their way to work!

(3) The size of the pages means that news can be "splashed" with large eye-catching headlines, as well as allowing for the reproduction of photographs. (The services of a professional photographer can be obtained in exchange for a free advertisement.)

(4) Editors are unanimous in claiming that the newspaper is much more effective than the magazine in showing that the Church cares and is alive. "It speaks our language and meets our needs", as one reader said recently. A comment from a member of the P.C.C. of St Luke's, Tranmere, is worth recording: "Thanks to our paper, St Luke's is making a greater impact on the parish than it has done in the last twenty years." The parish newspaper puts the Church on the map.

(5) It encourages the "faithful" to know they belong to a church which the parish considers alive. Comments from non-churchgoing friends change from "You don't go to church, do you?" to "Things seem to happen at your church".

If these advantages are valid the question arises, "Is it practicable for most town parishes to start a newspaper?" Three things will immediately occur to incumbents: time—money—ability.

I. Time. It is very difficult to estimate the amount of time which an editor spends on the paper, as it will depend on how much he can farm out, size of the paper, etc. Several editors of the most successful newspapers reckon it takes the equivalent of two whole days, and one that it takes forty hours, a month. Two points should be borne in mind when assessing the time taken: first, the editing of the parish newspaper should be high in the parish priest's list of priorities because through it the Gospel can be preached to thousands of people —a paper with a circulation of 2,000 has at least 6,000 readers. After all, a conscientious priest will spend twenty hours a month preparing sermons for a few hundred. Secondly, some of the time spent has other useful results quite apart from the paper: for instance, an hour or two spent with some local secular organization, from the police to a home for the aged, collecting information for an article, results in many friendships and opens doors hitherto closed to the clergy.

II. Finance. The table above shows that all the leading parish papers are making a profit, although their incumbents were unanimous in claiming that their paper was of sufficient value to warrant a subsidy from parish funds.

The monthly costings for the six-page *North End Review* are—Outgoings: £65—made up of £52 for printing, £8 for blocks of photographs, £5 for office expenses. Income: £30 revenue from advertisements (25 per cent. of the paper is advertisements), £48 for selling 3,900 copies at 3d. each. MONTHLY PROFIT £13. The costings

for the four-page *St Luke's Newspaper* are—Outgoings: £26 (£20 printer, £6 blockmaker). Income £28 (£10 advertisements, £18 for selling 1,400 copies at 3d. each). MONTHLY PROFIT £2.

In short, a well-illustrated four-page (*Church Times* size) newspaper price 3d. will pay its way, with a circulation of 1,000, while a circulation of 2,000 should make a six-page 3d. paper possible.

III. Ability. None of the editors of the leading parish newspapers has had any previous experience of this sort of work. The question of what to put in it and the way to put it is easily answered by the priest who knows his people. Some sort of balance needs to be kept between the four main subjects which will make up the bulk of the contents.

(*a*) Parish church news with the emphasis on what is going to happen rather than what has happened.

(*b*) Local secular news. Illustrated articles on schools, clubs, factories, etc., are very popular and show the Church is interested in all aspects of local community life.

(*c*) Church news at home and overseas which can be gleaned from the national church newspapers, missionary magazines and the Church Information Board handout for magazine editors.

(*d*) Teaching articles. There is a crying need for such articles of about 1,000 words suitable for non-churchgoers. Few parish priests have either the time or the ability to write simple but theologically sound articles which do not lose their cutting edge. Some of our leading tract writers should syndicate articles for parish magazines and papers which do not include an inset.

The layout of the paper and type used is of vital importance because the main object of the paper is to show the Church as modern, bright and challenging. A glance at any of the national dailies will show the secrets: large headlines—small paragraphs divided with subheadings—use of bold type and italics to break up the print, etc.

Mr Alan Hutt has written an excellent little book on typography, *An Outline of Newspaper Typography*, which all editors would find helpful. It is published by the National Union of Journalists, price 2s.

It is not possible or perhaps desirable in an article of this sort to give details of all the "know how" in the editing of a parish newspaper, but the editor of any of the papers in the table above will give all the help he can to those who require detailed information.

The parish newspaper is only one of several recent developments in parish literature—which include the *Country Churchman* and lavishly produced magazines like the *Wimbledon Review*—but it does seem to meet the needs of the town parish in a way no other type of publication can. It is the writer's guess that they will soon be considered an essential weapon for every evangelistically minded town church.

NICOLAS STACEY.

Dr Dodd, the New Testament, and Eschatology

THE theological festschrift is still something of a rarity in this country; but that is not to be regretted if it means that such productions can be reserved, as in the present instance, for the honouring of those who are truly outstanding figures. The curriculum vitae of Charles Harold Dodd and the bibliography of his writings, which are printed in the front of this volume,[1] are remarkable indeed. The former begins with firsts in Mods and Greats in 1904–6 and continues through almost every lecturership open to him until the delivery of the first series of Sarum Lectures in 1954–5. The latter, which includes only what he himself thinks noteworthy, consists of some ninety articles, reviews, lectures and books, ranging from early classical studies in chronology and numismatics in 1908–14 to what one of the contributors to the festschrift calls the "magistral work", *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, in 1953. Some of these, in particular *The Bible and the Greeks, The Parables of the Kingdom, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, The Johannine Epistles, According to the Scriptures* and *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, are works of pure scholarship, in which their author has made decisive and permanent contributions in a specialized field, and it is noticeable that few of the contributors to this volume are able to develop their subjects without references to him which, if they do not always register agreement, are always more than conventional tributes. Others, such as *The Meaning of Paul for To-day, The Bible To-day, The Epistle to the Romans*, and *The Gospel in the New Testament* written for the Sunday School Union (how typical of him to include this as noteworthy), stand out as works of one who is unrivalled, perhaps anywhere, as an interpreter of biblical scholarship to others. Indeed, Professor Bultmann rates *The Bible To-day* so highly that he devotes his own contribution to an examination of it, and to a kind of dialogue with its author on his understanding of the relation between history and revelation. It is not surprising that Dr Dodd has been in such demand as a lecturer; for him lecturing is an art, and to listen to him lecture an experience. It is commonly reported that the B.B.C. makes an exception in his case in not demanding from him a manuscript beforehand, and this, not because, as his correspondents well know, to extract from him a reply to a letter is almost a definition of impossibility, but because he can always be relied on to say clearly and within the allotted time just what needs to be said, and just as it needs to be said, to the particular audience he is addressing, whether Third Programme or the Sixth Forms of Schools. Since his learning has throughout his life been at the service of religion and of the Churches, it is fortunate and altogether fitting that he should now in his retirement be presiding over the new translation of the Bible, a work to which no one else could bring the same combination of technical scholarship, theological insight, religious feeling,

[1] *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*. Edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube. In honour of Charles Harold Dodd. Cambridge University Press, 70s.

clarity of expression, zest, and, above all, humanity. In the little pamphlet, *Christian Beginnings*, which he wrote in reply to Dr Barnes's *The Rise of Christianity*, his chief complaint was not of the dubious criticism or the doctrinaire judgments of that book, but that the good bishop had been denied the historical imagination which includes the power to enter with sympathy into the minds of another age. "He observes with a detached and curious gaze these beings of the first and second centuries, and marvels at their unaccountable mental antics. It is not that way that understanding comes or knowledge advances."

The period covered by Dr Dodd's career has been dominated by the work of the school of *religionsgeschichte* and of the form critics, and especially by the word "eschatology". In his Inaugural Lecture as Norris-Hulse Professor he looked forward to a period when the critical analysis of documents and a piecemeal treatment of early Christian thought would give way, or lead on, to a more synthetic approach, to the problems of interpreting the thought of the N.T. as a whole, and to a solution of the Johannine problem in the twentieth century which should match that of the Synoptic Problem in the nineteenth. It is natural to look to this volume of studies written in his honour for some indications of the extent to which these expectations are being realized. It consists of twenty-six essays, written by scholars of many persuasions from Britain, America, France, Germany, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden. They vary in length from M. Black's four pages on "The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus" to almost forty pages from G. Bornkamm on "Enderwartung und Kirche im Matthäusevangelium", and they are grouped under two headings, corresponding to the two spheres in which Dr Dodd's own contributions have been principally made, viz. "The Background of the New Testament" and "The Eschatology of the New Testament".

In the first part two of the most lively and, though written for the expert, most readable essays are those on textual criticism. Exegetes and theologians need to remind themselves from time to time how much they depend on the possession of a reliable text of the N.T. and of the LXX, and for none is this more so than for typologists. K. W. Clark reviews the present position in N.T. textual criticism. He sees the present time as the close of one epoch and the beginning of another, whose main principles are not yet formulated, indeed are barely in sight. Fresh material in the shape of papyrus fragments and medieval texts of the Gospels, and further research into the grouping of manuscripts and into lectionary material, do not merely furnish further refinements of the "neutral" text of Westcott and Hort; they alter and complicate the perspective as regards both the tracing of the history of textual transmission and the method of citing manuscript evidence. We are once again where Bentley was, in a period of collecting and collating, which will in time lead to a new era of reclassification. P. Katz's essay similarly provides a survey of the textual criticism of the LXX since Swete's provisional edition, and of the manifold and interlocking problems with which it is now

faced, which the reader would find it hard to come by elsewhere. He renews his opposition to Kahle's theory that the LXX is not a translation proper but was formed in the same way as the Aramaic Targums, and calls for a further advance in the analysis of the different strata of the LXX and of its successive recensions, and for greater resources to make the advance possible. Meanwhile the ordinary reader is made aware that the symbol LXX, and the Hatch and Redpath concordance which he uses, are less fixed and solid entities than he has sometimes supposed. A recent attempt to account for the shape and structure of St Mark's Gospel in terms of the lectionary tradition of the Church was Archbishop Carrington's *The Primitive Christian Calendar*. The separate theses of that book, viz. that the Christian Church took over from the first the pattern of Jewish synagogue worship, that St Mark's Gospel is throughout triadic in structure, and that the chapter divisions in Codex Vaticanus are intended to denote the incidence of lections, are subjected to a searching criticism by W. D. Davies, and are taken to bits in a way that would appear to preclude their being put together again.

But it is not only fresh textual evidence for the canon which has been forthcoming. The biblical scholar, confined to the canon and to what bears upon it, has sometimes complained that he is compelled to tread such well-worn ground, and he has sighed for some fresh material. He is now being given it with a vengeance in such discoveries as those at Qumran and Nag Hammadi. These will no doubt lead to some revision in our judgments of what is properly to be denoted "hebraic", "hellenistic" or "gnostic", of the connexions between them, and of their influence upon N.T. writers; it will not necessarily establish agreement. This may be illustrated by comparing the essays of R. P. Casey and W. F. Albright. Casey argues that the term "gnostic" should be confined to those systems of the second century which were rivals to Catholic systematic theology, and which were influenced by it, and he questions the whole process of working back from them to a supposed gnosis in the first century, and of using the Corpus Hermeticum as a key to such a gnosis and to its influence on the New Testament. "The New Testament and Gnosticism occupy narrow strips of common ground but this is partly to be explained by their joint heritage of Greek philosophical ideas, partly by the indebtedness of the Gnostic theologians to the New Testament. The remarkable thing about the earliest Christian literature is not what it perpetuated but what it created. It was not a creation ex nihilo but old materials were miraculously transformed." What might appear to be Gnostic, when compared with that which, like St Mark's Gospel, falls completely within Jewish categories of thought, is rather the specifically Christian knowledge and sacramental practice which arose in face of a new situation brought about by the resurrection and by the formation of the Church. How this Christian element was created is only briefly suggested, and would need a whole book to elaborate. (The contentions of H. Riesenfeld's essay are that Jesus created it himself by his own particular combination of motifs already existent in Judaism, and that the Jewish

messianic hope was something richer and more varied than is sometimes imagined.) Albright travels by a somewhat similar route to different conclusions. He also denies the existence of an early mild and incipient Gnosticism, but does so by assigning (following G. Quispel) certain specific Gnostic systems to the first century well before the fall of Jerusalem. The Fourth Gospel, in whose mysticism Casey is prepared to see at least a modicum of hellenistic influence, Albright roundly declares to be Palestinian; its ethical dualism is to be explained in terms of Essene terminology and ideas which are found in the Qumran scrolls, and which were presumably common to other Jewish sects, and its differences from the Synoptic Gospels are to be accounted for by the "concentration of tradition along certain aspects of Christ's teachings, particularly those which seem to have resembled the Essenes more closely". This is the solution of the Johannine problem. Thus Albright can write in a footnote: "One of the strangest assumptions of critical New Testament scholars and theologians is that the mind of Jesus was so limited that any apparent contrast between John and the Synoptics must be due to differences between early Christian theologians. Every great thinker and personality is going to be interpreted differently by different friends and hearers, who will select what seems most congenial or useful out of what they have seen and heard"; while Casey writes, also in a footnote, "The most striking difference between the Synoptic and Johannine pictures of Jesus lies not in details but in their presentation of his personality as a whole. The Jesus of Mark and the Jesus of John are quite different persons." Thus, as regards the background of the New Testament, the present time would seem to be one of considerable fluidity. Older positions are likely to be abandoned in the face of new evidence, which cannot as yet be fully assessed. This evidence is likely to point away from a very late date for N.T. documents and from an acute hellenization of a hebraic religion, and towards a more complex background in the first century, against which distinctions between new and old will have to be more finely drawn.

In the second part of the book more than one contributor begins by observing how recently the eschatology of the New Testament has been re-discovered and how upsetting that re-discovery has been. Two questions primarily are at issue: first, what is the precise nature and purpose of eschatology, particularly in relation to what is not eschatological, and secondly, what can we do with it? The first lies well within the scope of this book, and various aspects of it are covered. The second lies on the periphery, but some important hints and suggestions about it are thrown out, especially in the last six essays. T. W. Manson contributes a survey of some recent tendencies in research into the life of Jesus. It is brief for its subject, and is presented in terms of either–or. Either we go along the road marked out by Wrede and the form critics until we reach the point where we conclude that the Gospels are only evidence for the beliefs of the early Church, or we accept them as evidence for what happened; either we go all the way with Schweitzer in a thoroughgoing eschato-

logy, or we take the earthly ministry of Jesus seriously. The chief difficulties, however, arise from the peculiarly intimate connexion between the Gospels and the beliefs of the early Church, and from the fact that the earthly ministry of Jesus is so firmly set within an eschatological framework. For Manson the true road is by way of realized eschatology and the kerygma. The ministry of Jesus is not a prelude to the kingdom of God, it is the kingdom of God, and it gives rise in the early Church to a consistent picture about him. Subsequent essays suggest some modifications of this position. G. Bornkamm apologizes for the length of his essay on the ground that the use of any N.T. document as evidence for the kerygma or for the historical Jesus is inseparable from a minute consideration of its structure and content. The evangelists are both compilers and theologians, and their theologies have entered deeply into their handling of the tradition. St Matthew's Gospel is the document of a church which has not yet separated from Judaism, and for which the law is still authoritative, but it is not simply a deposit of that church's theology. It relates the life of the church closely to, but also distinguishes it from, the future kingdom of God in which all righteousness will be vindicated. A. Feuillet's essay deals with one element in this picture, the parousia, which is to be interpreted in St Matthew's Gospel not of the final coming of the Son of Man but of his coming to judgment in the destruction of Jerusalem. E. Stauffer's thesis is revolutionary. The Fourth Gospel is the more reliable source for the historical Jesus. Its doctrine of the messiah incognitus, which is a variant of the doctrine of the messiah absconditus found in Palestinian sources, was the doctrine which Jesus himself held about his person and ministry. It was the expectation of an imminent end which was the creation of the Church. This was borrowed from current apocalyptic, and it coloured the material which the Synoptists used, so that the fourth evangelist appears as a reformer and purifier of the tradition by recourse to a more authentic form of it. H. J. Cadbury, on the other hand, in a judicious analysis of the components of early Christian thought as they are presented in the Lukan writings, sees a more complex process at work in Luke's treatment of resurrection, ascension, parousia and spirit, and in his adjustment of early and literal expectations to the requirements of history, and he argues against the idea of a kerygma which is static, and which can be taken as a fixed point in tracing the development of doctrine. Two essays in French, by M. Goguel and H. Clavier, the one a general treatment of Paul and the other a particular study of the phrase "spiritual body" in 1 Cor. 15. 44, consider how far St Paul's doctrine of salvation and his beliefs about the Church are the outcome of a re-interpretation of eschatology in the light of Christian experience, and the related question of present possession and future consummation in Christian life and thought is the subject of E. G. Selwyn's short study of 1 Peter and of C. F. D. Moule's deeply religious treatment of the sacraments in connexion with a theme with which they are not often linked, the theme of judgment. One of the N.T. expressions for this present possession is "the Spirit",

and E. Schweizer distinguishes the N.T. understanding of the present Spirit as that of a sign of the power of God in and over history established in Jesus of Nazareth from that of a moralistic principle to be found in certain types of Judaism and that of a divine substance to be found in Gnosticism.

In a masterly essay C. K. Barrett takes a step further in suggesting the permanent place and function of eschatology. He assembles material designed to show that elements in the Epistle to the Hebrews which have commonly been derived from Alexandrian Platonism are rather to be derived from Jewish apocalyptic symbolism, which has been developed in a certain direction by the impact upon it of the Christian facts. His conclusion is important: "The eschatological imagery is primary, as it must always be in any Christian approach to philosophical discourse . . . but, provided that this priority is maintained, Hebrews itself, as part of the N.T. canon, shows that the language of philosophy may be more serviceable in expressing Christian truth than some Biblical theologians are prepared to allow." J. Héring, covering some of the same ground with reference to the more specific question of the teaching about the future life in Philo, Hebrews and Origen, arrives at a similar, though not identical, conclusion. Is it possible to go further still in this direction? Three essays attempt to do so. O. Cullmann examines the motive for missions in the N.T., and concludes that, so far from the expectation of the end paralysing the missionary impulse, the mission of the Church to the world is itself an eschatological saving work in the interim between the resurrection and the return of Christ, "a conception which, alas! was soon forgotten, and only sporadically reappears as a missionary motive". But is it not biblical wishful thinking that it could or should reappear, or that it is ever likely to be a living motive again? This surely is a cul-de-sac. The way would seem to be indicated rather by the two important essays of N. A. Dahl on "Christ, Creation and the Church" and A. N. Wilder on "Kerygma, Eschatology and Social Ethics". These are too closely knit in their argument to be summarized adequately here. What is common to them is the link which they make between eschatology and creation. The last things reproduce the first things. "What is given in Christ is not only a new covenant, but a new creation" (Dahl). "The theological basis for social ethics which we are urging parallels the distinction sometimes made between a Trinitarian and a christological interpretation of the Bible. The former permits a more realistic use of the Bible as a whole, of the dimension of creation as well as redemption, without forfeiting the sovereignty of Christ over the creation" (Wilder). Here we are being led on to Church History and to the more profound thoughts of some of the Fathers. It would appear from the essays in this volume that, while an analytical criticism can lead, and is leading, to an approach which seeks to uncover basic unities and common themes, a synthesis of what turns out to be so variegated, even if possible or desirable, is still a long way off, and that the eschatological thought of the N.T., for all the concentrated attention it has received, still remains some

thing of a puzzle and an embarrassment. It is, perhaps, the turn of those whose field of study lies between the N.T. and the present day, the Church historians, historians of dogma and dogmatic theologians, to have their say in the matter.

C. F. Evans.

History and Allegory

I. The origins of Christian allegorizing are a subject which has been surprisingly little explored by scholarship.[1] Scholars have felt about it, perhaps, as they have sometimes felt about the Empress Theodora, Justinian's wife, that the less said about origins in this case the better. Most have been content to assume that the influence of a single man, like Philo, or of a single school, like that of Alexandria, can account for the rise of this practice of allegorizing. After a little study of the subject, however, I am convinced that the main source of Christian allegorizing was Jewish, Rabbinic interpretation and that the particular type of Jewish exegesis which gave rise to allegorizing in its turn had its roots mainly in the Jewish liturgy. There are some Jewish prayers traceable to the first century A.D. or earlier whose form is remarkably like the "types" foreshadowing events connected with the Christian dispensation recognized in the Old Testament by the writers of the New Testament or of the early Patristic period. And there are some allegorizations or interpretations to be found in Rabbinic sayings of the first or second century A.D. remarkably like Christian allegorization of the first two centuries.

With the Alexandrian school, Clement and Origen, a new tributary enters the stream of Christian allegory, derived from Philo on the one hand and on the other from contemporary pagan allegory as practised by people like Plutarch and Heraclides Ponticus, itself obviously influenced by Plato's use of myth. From the third century onward the history of Christian allegory moves in ever-deepening currents of varied interpretations—spiritual, figurative, mystical, allegorical, anagogical, tropological—until by the end of the Middle Ages allegorical interpretation was not so much a stream as an ocean. The Reformation apparently checked and reduced its popularity, though none of the contending parties of the sixteenth century would probably have disowned it entirely. Since then its popularity has waned steadily until to-day it is almost true to say that the allegorical interpretation of Scripture is confined to liturgy. My method in considering this subject will be to give a fairly detailed account of what seems to me the fatal flaw in the allegorical interpretation of Origen, the one allegorist whose works I know well, and then to consider one or two alternative ways of approaching the problem of the relation of Christianity to history before sketching very tentatively what seems to me a promising and fruitful new approach to the subject. This method may not be as inconvenient as

[1] This paper, and a sequel, "History and Revelation", which will be published later, were in substance read to the Aquinas Society of London in October 1955.

it sounds, because though Origen was not the begetter of Christian allegorizing he was its great apologist, systematizer and amplifier, and his use of the practice had probably more influence on later Christian use of it for fifteen centuries after his death than that of any other single theologian.

II. Origen can be given the credit of systematizing the use of allegory and of making it universally popular and intellectually respectable in the ancient Church by the weight of his great authority as a scholar and a theologian. But we can attribute no very startling innovation in the use of it to Origen, as his systematization was largely a piece of academic theory, not consistently adhered to in practice. In his *De Principiis* he divides the senses of Scripture into three: *to rheton* or *to somatikon*, that is the literal meaning (also called *Ioudaikon* or *hudares*); *to psuchikon*, which at its lowest means merely metaphorical but usually has some reference to a point of moral edification; and *to pneumatikon* or *noeton*, that is the "spiritual" sense which also at its lowest is merely metaphorical but usually has reference to some point of theology or doctrine. According to Origen's theory, the literal sense is always to be followed first unless it simply makes nonsense, or unless the passage is obviously a "stumbling-block" placed in the Scriptures by the Holy Ghost as a Belisha Beacon to warn readers that they should here abandon the literal sense and cross the zebra crossing to the spiritual sense. But this distinction between spiritual and moral is on the whole throughout Origen's works lost and the two senses blend. It is true that in some of his Homilies he does pretty regularly follow the plan of expounding first the literal and then the moral and then the spiritual sense, but this is not his general rule. On the whole, allegorization becomes simply "the spiritual sense", a convenient resort whereby the difficulties of the Old Testament may be overcome and the conviction maintained that the Bible is inerrant without involving the Christian scholar in the impossible task of defending its literal truth.

Though there are many aspects of Origen's allegory, to my mind the most important and interesting point about it is the manner in which it reveals his attitude to historicity. In the first place there can be no doubt that certain parts of the Bible were not literally true, and were in fact intended as allegorical truths only. For instance, in *Contra Celsum* (IV. 39) he says of the first three chapters of Genesis: "In the narrative which appears to deal with Adam, Moses is giving a scientific account of the nature of man; observe that 'in Adam', as the account says, 'all die', and they were condemned 'in the likeness of the transgression of Adam', where the divine Word is speaking not so much about one single person as about the whole race." It is well known that Origen believed that the world was finished all at once and that the seven days in the account of Creation were detailed to preserve order (*heneken taxeos*, Frag. in *Comm. on Genesis*, where Origen is following Philo). In another passage of the *Contra Celsum* (VII. 22) he tells us that the story of the ritual massacre of the inhabitants of Jericho is not literally true: "The righteous destroy

every captured thing of the enemy and of those who come from evil, so that not an infant or recently grown evil is left." This, and not the literal meaning, is the true significance of the account.

Origen will on occasion dissolve the historicity of incidents even in the New Testament, though not as readily as he will dispose of stories in the Old. In the *Contra Celsum* (quoted *Philocalia* XV. 12–14) he suggests that we are not to take as literal the appearance of the Dove at the Baptism of Jesus: "to desire to make out that almost every narrative, even if it be true, actually took place, and to produce an acceptable theory about it, is an exceedingly difficult task, and in some circumstances impossible". In commenting on John 1. 23, in his *Commentary on John*, he says directly that the Dove was not a material one. In his *Commentary on Matthew* (XVI. 20) he says that though it is open to anyone to believe that the three different accounts of the healing of the blind person or persons at Jericho given in the first three gospels are true, yet it is reasonable to hold that some of the details given are not true. And later in the same work (Part II. 77) he treats the divergent accounts of the anointing of our Lord by the woman at Bethany similarly. His comment runs: "the main purpose of the evangelists pointed towards mysteries, and they had no great concern to make their account follow the truth of the actual incident, but (they intended) to set forth the mysteries of the matters that arose from the incidents".

He is circumspect about this sort of procedure, however, and issues occasional warnings that the method of dissolving history into allegory must not be pushed too far. "The incidents which are historically true", he says (*De Principiis* IV. 3, 4), "are much more numerous than the entirely spiritual interpolations." And elsewhere (Frag. in *Com. on Galatians*, quoted by Pamphilus) he assures us that though Christ opens the eyes of the mind and allays the storms of the Church, yet he also did actually heal blind men and on one occasion did actually still a storm. Yet he frequently maintains a theory found also in Clement of Alexandria and in Philo that God may have in the Bible deliberately related things which were not true for the ultimate improvement of mankind. There can be no doubt that Origen had no misgivings at all in on occasion abandoning the historical authenticity of incidents in the Bible.

His general attitude to historicity is to assume that a particular incident is historical, but to insist that it is historical only for the sake of the figurative meaning of his history. Daniel, he tells us in *Concerning Prayer* (XVI. 3), did really escape from lions in the den, but only in order to assist us to realize the possibilities of escaping from the "invisible lions" of temptation. Anthropomorphism or logical inconsistency shocks him out of respect for historicity and he sacrifices it. For history as history, history not regarded as an acted parable, history as in itself *the* category of revelation, he has no respect at all. In his *Homilies on Jeremiah* (I. 1–4) he speaks of the historical note at the beginning detailing the reigns during which Jeremiah prophesied, and says: "Now, what has history to do with me?" It is in his view obviously intended for allegorizing.

He will consequently often, not reject the literal sense, but regard it as dangerous and misleading unless it is taken allegorically as well as literally. It is only by allegorizing the less reputable stories of the patriarchs, such as the story of Abraham and Hagar and the incident of Abraham passing Sarah off as his sister, that he can persuade himself that they really took place. In this manner, he tells us in his *Homilies on Genesis* (VI. 3), the Holy Spirit transforms them from "futile and Jewish legends" into stories "full of decency and full of virtue and practical value". At its worst, this view of the historicity of the Bible can come near to denying the significance (but never the historical truth) of Christ's death upon the Cross. "Those things that are recorded as having happened to Jesus", he tells us in his *Contra Celsum* (II. 16), "do not yield the full view of their truth if they are understood according to the bare literal sense and narrative, for each of them is realized in the minds of those who search Scripture with understanding to be a symbol of something. So his being crucified has the full explanation of its truth in 'I am crucified with Christ' and in that which is meant by 'God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of my Lord Jesus Christ' ". In other words, these mystical experiences could not have been possible if the historical symbols of them had not taken place. Here, in my opinion, history is not abrogated, but it *is* dangerously externalized.

III. But this is not the opinion of the latest and most enthusiastic defender of Origen. A French Jesuit scholar, Henri de Lubac, in a book of over 400 pages published in 1952, attempts to make out that Origen's view of the relation between history and revelation is perfectly satisfactory. With great learning and ability he gives a reasonably accurate account of what might be called Origen's theological priorities. What mattered above all to Origen, he says, was Christ in his mystical body, the ascended Logos, who had indeed become incarnate in order to save men, but who now in an entirely spiritual form moved everywhere throughout the universe to enlighten souls and to lead them up to the point of intellectual and spiritual intercourse with himself. The Logos, the redeeming organ of which all Scripture speaks, the Agent of God round whom the cosmos revolves, was indeed the dynamic centre of Origen's theological system. Now, says de Lubac, all that Origen in his use of allegory is doing is insisting upon the truth that the present spiritual state and activity of Christ is more important than the thirty years when he was visibly incarnate, though Origen never denies that those thirty years and that visible incarnation were entirely essential for God's redemption of mankind. Though he may be misled in the details of his scheme, says de Lubac, surely he is right in the fundamentals? And as for his rejection of history as history, well, the bare record of facts can have no significance for the Christian until he knows the interpretation of them. All that Origen is saying is that, though the historical facts of the life of Jesus are important, the interpretation of them, what they stood for, is more so. Besides, did not St Paul allegorize in much the same way as Origen in the famous passage in 1 Corinthians 10 and

in his treatment of Abraham and Hagar in Galatians 4? And did not the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (whom de Lubac invariably assumes to be St Paul) thoroughly allegorize the Jewish law?

The one thing, however, that de Lubac does not at any point attempt to explain in the whole of his large volume is how the literal sense can be connected with the spiritual, how the original meaning of the passage—what it meant when it was first written—can be convincingly related to what Origen—or indeed any Patristic writer—is ready to make of it in the light of Christian doctrine. De Lubac's only answer to this question is that both the literal and the Patristic interpretation point to Christ, that Origen always insisted upon this, and that this is all that matters in interpreting both the Old and the New Testament. But this is no answer at all, precisely because it evades the painful and permanent task of taking seriously the historical context of each passage in the Bible. This is in fact what Origen almost never attempts to do, what he sees no reason to do. The whole of Scripture is a series of inspired oracles about Christ and therefore we may—nay, we must—find Christ directly spoken of in any and every part of it, in Judges, Leviticus and Canticles as much as in any other. If, as usually happens, the literal or original meaning will not help for this, then we can ignore it and produce an allegorical meaning whose connexion with the original may be wholly fantastic. The truth betrayed by this sort of treatment of the Bible is that to Origen history is no more than a parable, a symbol. To Origen even the flesh of Christ is only a symbol, leading on to a higher reality. Everything concrete, historical, particular is symbol, tolerable only because it is symbol, even though it is acted, eventful symbol. To Origen it is necessary to believe in the historical truth of Christianity, because this belief is an inescapable prelude to belief in the timeless, spiritual Logos; it is the door, or the first rung of the ladder. But it should be transcended, escaped from, as soon as possible. History was the screen upon which God threw the film of his truth. It was the charade by which he conveyed to us the saving knowledge of himself.

But what Origen never admitted, never realized, was that the Bible goes much further than this. To the biblical writers, history is not a parable, it is the field in which God most unmistakably acts. The New Testament says that God committed himself into history, poured himself out into history, pledged himself in the historical life of Jesus. The Word became flesh. Jesus emptied himself into his life as a slave, died, and was exalted. In Christ God moved, acted; in these thirty years of revelation a *new creation* took place, not merely an acted parable of something eternally true, but a committing of himself into human nature and into history on the part of God. We can put up with Paul's treatment of such passages as the story of Abraham and Hagar and the Platonic flavour in the interpretation of the Jewish law by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, because in spite of these difficulties both these authors obviously embrace the Hebraic, Old Testament conviction that history is above all the field of God's activity, and that in the history of Jesus a new creation has

taken place, a new self-committing act on the part of God. It is just because Origen does not see this, just because he has missed the Hebraic conception of history as the category of revelation *par excellence*, that we find his interpretation of the Old Testament, and indeed of the Bible generally, so unsatisfactory, in spite of its subtlety, its ingenuity, and its undoubted influence upon later exegetical tradition. I suspect (perhaps thereby giving way to prejudice) that de Lubac has failed to see this crucial point because he is blinded by certain tendencies in contemporary theology to believe that what matters for Christians is, not what happened 1,900 years ago, but what the Church to-day would like to think had happened. It certainly is true that Origen's theology is a useful step on the road to this particular conclusion.

R. P. C. Hanson.

Letter from Australia

The Church of England in Australia is essential to the growth of Australia to full nationhood, but it has some serious weaknesses. The first is indicated by its very title. It is the Church of *England* in Australia. Apart from the constitutional fact that the Australian Church is legally part of the Church of England in England, the title indicates that the Church has not yet become an indigenous national church. We have listened sympathetically to men like D. T. Niles protesting that the missionaries tried to transplant Western Churches to Asian countries instead of sowing the seed of the Gospel in Asian hearts and letting it develop its own Asian forms. It is only recently that we are beginning to realize that Australians are in the same situation as Asian Christians. We have been quite content to have the English Church transplanted into Australian soil. We have been content to live on English capital and to copy English forms. We have relied on English leaders. Consequently we have not developed a distinctively Australian mode of Anglicanism. These remarks are a criticism not of the English, but of the Australian, Church. The English leaders we have had have given us the Gospel and the Church, and we can never be sufficiently grateful for this. We Australians have even relied very largely on Englishmen to invent and staff some of our most interesting experiments. For instance, the Bush Brothers who serve the people of the vast areas of outback New South Wales and Queensland with singular devotion and ingenuity have mostly been Englishmen. Similarly the staff of the New Guinea Mission is very largely English. These things are a pride of the Church of England; they are the shame of the Church in Australia.

A recent consecration in St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, shows a welcome development. Two Bishops-Coadjutor were consecrated, both of whom were born and bred in Australia. Bishop de Mel of the Church of Ceylon, in his eloquent sermon, pointed this out, and said "the saving Gospel can only be proclaimed to Australia by sons of Australia". At present seventeen of our thirty-one bishops were

born and trained in England, fourteen born or trained in Australia.

But if all the appointments to be made in the next few years are given to Australians it will be a rough and ready episcopate that we shall have. The Church in Australia is theologically weak. There are men of first-rate quality here, but most of them have had very heavy responsibilities from a very early stage in their ministry and have just not been able to study, to think, to meditate and to pray. The absence of any faculty of theology[1] for a bachelor's degree at any Australian University has had a powerful effect in robbing true religion of the sound learning which should be its companion. The Church in its theological colleges and in its Australian College of Theology has not made a satisfactory attempt to fill this gap. On the whole the Roman Catholics, Presbyterian and Methodists prepare their men somewhat better than we do for their intellectual ministry.

The third weakness is that the Church in Australia is not united by the freedom and the responsibility of self-government. The opportunity which the Church in New Zealand grasped early in its history was missed in Australia. The Church grew up as separate dioceses later formed into provinces in the separate colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia. Australian national unity is beginning to find itself at a deeper level than the tugs-of-war between state and state, between the state parliaments and the federal parliament, and the sprawling cancerous cities and the vast thinly populated primary-producing areas. It is not surprising, though it is the more regrettable, that the Church is still very much diocesan in its outlook. The system of appointment of clergy has exaggerated this. The logically and spiritually absurd method of patronage in England has this merit at least, that the resulting bodies of clergy in most dioceses are at least variegated in their plumage. But in Australia birds of a feather flock together. Monochrome dioceses have been too much with us, owing to the fact that all appointments pass through almost the same set of hoops.

The disunity within the Church will never be seriously tackled until diocesan representatives are under the necessity of legislating for the whole Church in this country.

Gallant efforts have been made to frame a constitution for the Church in Australia. The last draft, largely inspired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, came before General Synod in September 1955, and has been remitted to the dioceses for their consideration and decision. A detailed treatment of it is not possible in this survey. But the fact that the very large mother-diocese of Sydney is strongly evangelical in the worst sense of the term and that several small dioceses are catholic in the worst sense of that term made the problem of the constitution committee very difficult. Strong safeguards for the conservatives and permissive freedoms for the liberals have been included. Only intransigent emotion and prejudice will cause its

[1] There is a Board of Studies in Divinity (post-graduate) in Sydney, and some individual theological subjects are taught for the B.A. in Brisbane. Sydney has a committee examining the prospect of including such courses.

rejection. The desire for a strong united national Church is growing. This is evinced in the unanimous testimony of the Constitution Committee who came together from many points of view and who were conscious of a deepening and widening fellowship as they worked and prayed together.

What other signs of life and hope are there in the Australian Church?

One is the statesmanlike determination of the Bishop of Canberra and Goulburn to see that the Church is well represented and equipped in the national capital. The Church has a site of ten acres in the heart of the city. There he plans a cluster of buildings which will form a centre of Anglican study, worship and teaching. There will be a library for advanced theological study, a college for theological students and a great church, a collegiate Church of St Mark, which will perform somewhat similar functions in Australia to those of Westminster Abbey. The first stage of this inspiring project is almost complete. St Mark's Library was officially opened by the Primate in November 1956. It is neither Gothic nor Roman nor Tudor nor Victorian, but contemporary in design. One of its special features will be a section for archives and records dealing with the history of the Church in Australia. This vision of Bishop Burgmann's is linked interestingly with the first point made in this survey, in that he is a genuine son of Australia, who spent his boyhood and youth in the bush. He won his high school and university education by his skill as an axeman.

The Primate of Australia (Archbishop Mowll) who came to be Archbishop of Sydney after service in the Church in China as priest and bishop, is giving the Church a splendid lead in forcing Australian Christians to face the challenge of South-East Asia. His detailed knowledge of the Christian position in this vast and restless area, his wise assessment of its needs and our opportunities never cease to impress us. So far the response has been only fair in money and in offers of service. But many thousands of Australian churchmen have started to think as churchmen, which is a new experience for most of us.

Three other points are worth mentioning. One is the appearance three years ago of *The Anglican*, a vigorous church weekly newspaper. One of its best features is its very efficient news-gathering. Another is its aggressive handling of controversial issues. It is so pleasant to find that the Church has teeth that we can forgive *The Anglican* for showing them, even for grinding and gnashing them.

The second point is the startling enthusiasm with which Anglican parishes have adopted the idea of an "Every Member Canvass" as the basis of Church finance. This idea was brought to Australia by an American firm. It has brought the lay*men* to life. It has given scores of parishes a wide vision of the glorious adventure of building the Church. It has challenged thousands of church people to make their membership of the Church a proud and costly thing. It is no mean achievement (as was done in one country town) to bring 1,400 parishioners together for a parish dinner at the beginning of such

a canvass and to raise the Church's income from £5,000 to £20,000 a year, and to get seventy men to act as canvassers, giving almost all their non-working time to the job for three to five weeks. Personally I hope that the Church will take over the scheme itself[1] and leave some of the glossy Americanism behind, but it has brought a creative idea into our life.

Thirdly, in recent years there has been a considerable revival of interest in the relation of Christianity to the arts. The visit of the Bishop of Chichester in 1948 and of Mr Martin Browne in 1951 did much to stimulate religious drama, and in all States of the Commonwealth there have been fairly regular performances of a reasonably high standard of religious plays. In Sydney an inter-denominational evangelical group, known as the Australian Christian Theatre Guild, has been regularly producing plays, and now has its headquarters at the St Barnabas' Community Centre near the University of Sydney. The Comrades of St George, the youth organization of the Australian Board of Missions, has also been active in the field of religious drama and the first festival competition of religious plays is to be held in Sydney next September. College, school and other amateur groups have played classical works like "Everyman", "The Castle of Perseverance", and selections of the medieval mystery plays, as well as such modern classics as "Murder in the Cathedral", "The Cocktail Party", "The Zeal of Thy House", "This Way to the Tomb", "Old Man of the Mountains" to large and appreciative audiences. Certain country centres have shown keen interest, especially Guyra in the hilly district of New England, where the Uganda Passion Play proved a most moving experience.

Church music, with a few honourable exceptions, has been poor. The Cathedrals of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide have maintained a high standard. The visit of Gerald Knight and the increasing influence of the Royal School of Church Music are hopeful signs.

Church architecture in Australia has been for the most part limited by lack of finance, by an overbearing Gothic tradition and a general lack of vision. There are signs, however, of new creative ideas, though, generally speaking, the Roman Catholic Church is here leading the way. On the other hand, many quite small Anglican churches, which are being erected in new housing areas in almost every large city, are displaying interesting ability to combine new materials and modern lines and for the first time are conveying the idea that the church in its building belongs to the present and to the morrow as well as to a beautiful but remote past.

Religious art has witnessed an even more striking manifestation of activity since the Blake Prize Committee started a competition for religious painting in 1951. This committee consisted of a group of men and women interested in bringing together the Church and the fine arts, and was made up of clergy, artists, architects and lay folk drawn from the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Free Churches. The first prize of 200 guineas was won by a Sydney artist, Mr Justin

[1] This is being done on a large scale in the Dioceses of Sydney and North Queensland and in several parishes in other dioceses.

O'Brien, whose picture was purchased by the Melbourne National Gallery, probably the finest collection of paintings in any British gallery outside the United Kingdom. Six annual exhibitions have been held and have attracted large entries and an immense amount of public interest. The standard has been high and many of the best-known Australian artists have been regular contributors. Church people are often bewildered, if not shocked, by the modernism of many works displayed, but this has been of real gain in an attempt to show the relevance of the gospel to contemporary society. After the pictures have been first shown in Sydney a selection travels for special exhibitions in the National Galleries at Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth and Hobart, and the pictures have also been shown at Canberra, Perth, Brisbane, Ballarat and Launceston. The Blake Prize provides one of the few opportunities for Catholic and Protestant to work harmoniously together. The Blake Prize Committee now awards each year prizes of 200, 50 and 25 guineas, and in 1957 has offered a special prize of 200 guineas in addition for a "Head of Christ", open to sculptors as well as painters. The art critics of Australia for the most part regard the Blake Exhibition as the most significant competition of the year. It has succeeded in its attempt to convince the artist that the Church needs his handiwork, and it has shown the Church that the artist can throw new light on old truths.

"MIBSAM."

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"Mibsam" is the *nom de plume* of more than one correspondent in Australia.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EPICLESIS IN THE PROPOSED INDIAN PRAYER BOOK

To the Editor of THEOLOGY.

DEAR SIR,

Fr J. D. M. Stuart in "A Letter from North India" (October 1956) makes some puzzling statements about the 1955 revision of the 1951 Proposed Prayer Book in C.I.P.B.C. The Consecration Prayer in 1955, he says, "was intended to break away in an Eastern direction" and the revised epiclesis to "have a consecratory significance" in contrast to that of 1951 which was "taken as a prayer that we may communicate aright".

But the 1951 epiclesis follows "more or less the conventional 1549 pattern", which Cranmer borrowed from Eastern liturgies and which he abandoned in 1552 because it could be regarded as implying a doctrine of consecration he did not hold. The similar epiclesis in the 1927–8 English revision was attacked and defended precisely on the ground that it was consecratory in its emphasis.

By contrast, the 1955 epiclesis based on 1 Cor. 10. 16 follows the C.S.I. liturgy which at this point follows the usage of the Church of Scotland. C.I.P.B.C. has therefore broken away, not in an Eastern, but in a distinctly north-western direction! Further, as T. S. Garrett has made clear in writing of the C.S.I. liturgy, "any notion of the Invocation as providing a 'moment of consecration' alternative to the Words of Institution (as has been thought in the Eastern Churches) is avoided" (*The Liturgy of the Church of South India*, p. 67). Can C.I.P.B.C. exchange one form of epiclesis which has historically been interpreted as consecratory for another which is generally regarded as a prayer for right communion, and then expect the change to be understood as signifying exactly the opposite?

If I may say so, C.I.P.B.C. has done better than apparently it knew in this matter. What we all need to do, whether we belong to East or West, is not to exchange one (later) theory of consecration for another (later) theory, but to remember that the most primitive method of consecration going back to the Upper Room is consecration by thanksgiving and to give expression to our recovered understanding of that fact in our Eucharistic rites.

May I add a word of apology for having antedated the 1955 revision by a year—the result of working with undated galley proofs?

Yours faithfully,

C. Kenneth Sansbury.

St Augustine's College,
Canterbury.

To the Editor of Theology.

Dear Sir,

In your October issue Fr J. D. M. Stuart speaks of "an abandonment of the traditional Anglican connexion of the moment of consecration with the Words of Institution" in the recent Indian revision of the Prayer Book. But it seems highly doubtful whether there is any one traditional Anglican view about the moment of consecration. The Western view has been predominant during the last century, but I suspect that the majority of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglicans would have agreed with Wheatley's opinion that "tho' all Churches in the World have, thro' all Ages, us'd the words of Institution at the time of Consecration; yet none, I believe, except the Church of Rome, ever before attributed the Consecration to the bare pronouncing of those Words only: But the change of the Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ was always attributed, by the most antient Fathers to the Prayer of the Church", and would in consequence have regarded (as Wheatley did) the clause "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee" as the conse-

cratory section in the 1662 rite (*Rational Illustration*, 3rd edn, 1720, p. 290). It would seem desirable that in future Prayer Book revision the Eucharistic prayer should be open to either interpretation, as is evidently the case in the South Indian rite.

Yours, etc.,

A. M. Allchin.

Cuddesdon College,
Oxford.

THE DOCTRINE OF INTENTION

To the Editor of Theology.

Sir,

It was a pleasure to read in your October number the Rev. Michael Bruce's elucidation of the doctrine of sacramental intention. Yet the complexity of the doctrine is evidenced by the fact that even this clear analysis falters in at least one important particular. Mr Bruce writes (p. 410): "Suppose an Orthodox priest lost his faith, repudiated his ministry, joined the Communist Party and, in one of the churches that were converted into godless museums, celebrated the Orthodox liturgy to demonstrate to the Union of Militant Godless 'the superstitious practices of the Church' in order that they might better know how to attack and ridicule them, the fact that he had abandoned the Church and entered an atheistic body would be a sufficient indication of his lack of intention to do what the Church does."

By intending to perform what Christ or the Church instituted a person can intend to do what the true Church does irrespective of the concept of the Church he happens himself to hold. Consequently erroneous belief, as Mr Bruce makes clear in the course of the next paragraph (and the same is true of total lack of belief), can never be an indication of lack of adequate intention. The Orthodox priest in question would have indicated his lack of intention, not by the fact that he had abandoned the Church and entered an atheist body, which would only be evidence of loss of faith, but by circumstances present in this particular performance of the liturgy, either on his part or on that of those assisting at it, making it clear that what was being done was not a rite held sacred by the Church, but one done with a different and incompatible purpose. The minimum ministerial intention necessary for a valid sacrament, however, extends no further than to saying the required words and doing the required actions precisely as something the Church holds sacred. An adequate intention does not necessarily extend to anything believed or disbelieved about what the words and actions can effect. This hypothetical priest might, in other circumstances, have absolved a mother dying in childbirth and baptized the child, sheer compassion outweighing his disbelief and hostility to religion. In so doing he could, according to traditional teaching, have unquestionably intended to do what the Church does, without any belief in what the Church believes.

Following an Anglican tradition, Mr Bruce favours the doctrine of Catharinus concerning ministerial intention. The arguments for and against this position turn on the question of the possibility and effectiveness of an explicit, inner, personal intention, on the part of the minister of the sacrament, to *exclude* from it an element that, in the eyes of the true Church, belongs to its substance, as Christ instituted it; e.g. regeneration in baptism, or sacrifice in the Mass. Both positions, *pro* and *con*, have each their own difficulties. On the one hand, why should the exclusion of an inner effect be operative when its inclusion is not held necessary to validity; and further, how can something be excluded in intention which is believed non-existent? On the other hand, by what criterion can a group of actions be judged a rite of the Church unless there be some kind of interior intention on the part of the celebrant to make it so?

Yours faithfully,

HENRY ST JOHN, O.P.

HAWKESYARD PRIORY,
RUGELEY, STAFFS.
14 *October* 1956.

BUDDHISM TO-DAY

To the Editor of THEOLOGY.

DEAR SIR,

I do not think that Mr Fernando and I really disagree, except that he is more critical of Asian Christianity than I should be: and even here I agree that there is a lot in what he says. For the most part I think Mr Fernando from his own point of view really bears out what I said—unless indeed he would deny that there is *any* genuine spiritual basis in the revival of Buddhism.

Yours truly,

G. FRANCIS S. GRAY.

ST AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE,
CANTERBURY.

BOOK REVIEWS

REINHOLD NIEBUHR: HIS RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT. Edited by Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall. New York: Macmillan. 45s. 6d.

THE SELF AND THE DRAMA OF HISTORY. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Faber and Faber. 21s.

Reinhold Niebuhr: His Religious, Social and Political Thought is the second volume in "The Library of Living Theology". Volume one was concerned with Dr Paul Tillich; later volumes will include one on Dr Emil Brunner. The volumes follow a uniform plan, beginning with a statement ("an intellectual autobiography") by the subject of the book, followed by a series of twenty essays, more or less critical, by various hands on various aspects of his thought, and concluding with a reply by the subject, a bibliography and indices.

The book will be of great interest to anyone who is intrigued, entertained or fascinated by Dr Niebuhr's writings. His own "intellectual autobiography" makes clear how important in his own development was the experience of being a parish minister in Detroit in the 'twenties.

> "My first interest was not so much to challenge the reigning laissez faire philosophy of the community as to 'debunk' the moral pretensions of Henry Ford, whose five dollar a day wage gave him a world-wide reputation for generosity. I happened to know that some of his workers had an inadequate annual wage, whatever the pretensions of the daily wage may have been. Many of them lost their homes in the enforced vacations, which became longer and longer until the popular demand for the old Model T suddenly subsided, and forced a lay-off of almost a year for 'retooling'.
>
> "The realities were brought home to me particularly when the A.F. of L. held its annual meeting in the city and threatened to organize the auto industry. The threat was an idle one . . . but this did not prevent the Detroit Board of Commerce from branding the A.F. of L. as communistic, and from putting pressure on the churches to cancel invitations which had been extended to Labor-convention speakers. The incident vividly portrayed the irrelevance of the mild moralistic idealism, which I had identified with the Christian faith, to the power realities of our modern technical society. . . .
>
> "Two old ladies were dying shortly after I assumed charge of the parish. They were both equally respectable members of the congregation. But I soon noted that their manner of facing death was strikingly dissimilar. One old lady was too preoccupied with self, too aggrieved that Providence should not have taken account of her virtue in failing to protect her against a grievous illness, to be able to face death with any serenity. . . . The other old lady had brought up a healthy and wholesome family, though her husband was subject to periodic fits of insanity which forced her to be the breadwinner as well as homemaker. Just as her two splendid daughters had finished their training and were eager to give their mother a secure and quiet evening of life, she was found to be suffering from cancer. . . . She was particularly grateful for her two daughters and their love; and she faced death with the utmost peace of soul.
>
> "I relearned the essentials of Christian faith at the bedside of that nice old soul. I appreciated that the ultimate problem of human existence is the peril of sin and death in the way that these two perils are so curiously compounded; for we fall into sin by trying to evade or conquer death or our own insignificance, of which death is the ultimate symbol. . . . As for the difference between the faith of the two old ladies, outwardly so simliar until submitted to the ultimate test, we in the churches ought to admit more humbly than is our wont that there is a mystery of grace which no one can fathom. 'Two women will be grinding at the mill. The one will be taken and the other left.' The Church is a curiously mixed body consisting of those who have never been shaken in their self-esteem or self-righteousness and who use the forms of religion for purposes of self-aggrandizement; and of true Christians who live by 'a broken spirit and a contrite heart.' . . . Indeed, one must come to the conclusion that none of us can be certain whether we have the faith or the courage to pass any final test. 'If any man stand let him take heed lest he fall.' "

Dr John C. Bennett ("Reinhold Niebuhr's Social Ethics"), Dr Arthur Schlesinger, Jr ("Reinhold Niebuhr's Role in American Thought and Life") and others make clear his unique involvement in secular life and help to explain his own remark: "I have been frequently challenged by the stricter sects of theologians in Europe to prove that my interests were theological rather than practical or 'apologetic', but I have always refused to enter a defence, partly

because I thought the point was well taken and partly because the distinction does not interest me." Niebuhr is emphatically not a theologian's theologian; and I have found among my own American acquaintance that he is taken more seriously, for example, by State Department officials than by missionaries. Since he has felt his avocation to lie in "the defence and justification of the Christian faith in a secular age", particularly among what Schleiermacher called Christianity's "intellectual despisers", he would probably be cheered by this information. Certainly when I, becoming more "churchly" in my interests and convictions, informed him that I was no longer "a Niebuhrian", he laughed heartily. (I make no apology for adding a further personal comment to the many in the book.) The bibliography underlines the importance of the immense number of occasional articles (the 8th August *Christian Century* carried a "Proposal to Billy Graham". The proposal is that Dr Graham should "embody the cause of justice—particularly when it is so closely and obviously related to the love commandment as on the race issue—into his revival message" and "suggest that among the 'fruits meet for repentance' there must be a whole-souled effort to give the Negro neighbour his full due as a man and a brother". In this case Dr Graham "would cease to be merely the last exponent of a frontier religious tradition and become a vital force in the nation's moral and spiritual life"). One should also mention Dr Robert E. Fitch's splendid list (p.297) of things and persons in daily life in which Dr Niebuhr found a rich texture of implication, including a dog with hair over its eyes, a Packard car, and a drummer and two nuns.

When it comes, however, to more solid theological critique the book is less satisfactory. Dr Brunner and Dr Tillich write very briefly. Dr Paul Ramsey offers thorough and detailed criticism of Niebuhr's rejection of "natural law", Dr Paul Lehmann of his Christology. The only English contributor, Dr Alan Richardson ("Reinhold Niebuhr as Apologist"), takes issue, as other Anglicans would wish to do, with "the hesitation and (to speak plainly) equivocation which appear in so much of his writing upon the historicity of the Gospel".

Indeed, a serious weakness of this appraisal of a characteristically Protestant theologian is the absence of any Catholic criticism from *within* the Ecumenical movement. Fr Gustave Weigel, S.J., indeed writes on "Authority in Theology", but it is evident from his remarks and Dr Niebuhr's reply that their encounter is formal and far from "existential". Serious essays from Professor Demant, Professor Hodges and Dr Vidler, not to speak of the Archbishop of York, would have very greatly increased the comprehensiveness and value of the book. At the same time: if one is to regret that the Anglicans and the English are not more heard, one has also to say that there is probably to-day no Anglican, no English, theologian whose work is of a range and depth to enable the production of a book like this, now that William Temple is dead; and looking further back, who is there before we get back to F. D. Maurice? Westcott? Gore? P. T. Forsyth? Does this indicate that there is some failure in range and depth in contemporary English theology?

This question leaves unaffected the issue of whether compendiums of this kind are of great value. I incline to think that they are not. The giants here—Tillich, Brunner and Niebuhr—exchange the compliments that naturally spring from their long-standing intimate friendships, and there are occasional references also to Bultmann. But if one wants to get to grips with them one has to read their big books, which are replies not to other theologians but to God in his universe.

The Self and the Drama of History is such a book. It was written in two years of "enforced leisure" due to a severe illness. The twenty-three chapters, the early ones mostly very short, analyse the human self in its dialogues with itself, with others and with God; proceed to a lengthier dissection of the Hebraic and Hellenic approaches to the self and to history, and the ways in which they have been developed, disintegrated, deepened or corrupted in "modern culture"; and wind up with the efforts of the self to deal with the problems of the modern world. The whole is marked by Niebuhr's endearing ability to see several sides of a situation; by his habitual preference for the "Hebraic" over the "Hellenic"; and by his usual combination of a profound understanding of a very wide range of work in many fields with an absence of documentation and an unfairness to particular authors, who are quoted only as they illustrate a particular point. (His own method is in striking contrast to that adopted by the authors of the book on him.) English readers will note with pleasure the usual discriminating enthusiasm for Churchill (pp. 55, 59 and 231) and for the health of British political and social life (e.g. p. 194—this is not the sort of line that we mostly take about ourselves nowadays), but will wonder about the history contained in the remark: "This process (of shearing the monarchy of its power) in British history was not complete until a very recent day when George V refused to create enough peers to provide a conservative majority in the House of Lords for the purpose of defeating the ruling government." Of the three parts into which the book falls I much prefer the first, not only because it is pithier and free from the familiar controversies but also because in it seemed to be distilled more purely the wisdom that one self had garnered from his encounter with God in history.

The publisher's blurb claims "He must be put in a category by himself, as being at the same time and in all his writings, theologian, philosopher, moralist, and social and political thinker. In any one of these categories his name would stand high; but he is unique in belonging in all of them at once." I think that this claim is true. Oddly enough, it is apparently most questionable in the case of theology. "I cannot and do not claim to be a theologian" is his own verdict, and he is certainly not much interested in "church dogmatics". But does anyone to-day more effectively communicate, in spite of (because of?) the apparent tentativeness of so many of his theological conclusions, the inescapable God as he is encountered in history?

Dulwich. David M. Paton.

KINGDOM AND CHURCH. By T. F. Torrance. Oliver and Boyd. 16s.

Those who are acquainted with Dr Torrance's contribution to the symposium *Eschatology* (Oliver and Boyd, 1953) will be glad to have this elaboration and documentation of his important article on "The Eschatology of the Reformation". The argument is still very compressed, and those who are unfamiliar with the author's somewhat elusive style—p. 107 is a noteworthy example—will not find it easy reading. But a careful study of this book will be well repaid by many new insights into the underlying themes of Reformation theology. Dr Torrance begins by pointing to the general agreements of reformed in contrast to medieval eschatology. In the latter "the *Eschaton* is so domesticated and housed within the Church that, far from standing under final judgment, the Church dispenses it by her binding and loosing". In the former, history is seen to be moving towards a fulfilment in which all institutions, including the Church, must come under judgment, and consequently no historical form or continuity can of itself guarantee the Church. The point is well taken, although Dr Torrance perhaps oversimplifies the contrast. For example, he speaks of the medieval stress on "the heavenly character of the ultimate consummation" and the Reformers' expectation of "an ultimate end in which the fulness of the creation is maintained unimpaired in union with a heavenly consummation"; but Luther (as the passages quoted on p. 50 and others in Kerr's *Compound of Luther's Theology*, pp. 237–8, imply) does seem to have thought of the destiny of man as being "in heaven" rather than upon the (new) earth.

Dr Torrance's illuminating treatment of Luther's "Eschatology of Faith" will help to correct two misapprehensions which are all too common among Anglicans. He shows that the doctrine of Justification by Faith by no means excludes concern for real moral growth. The Christian, says Luther, hopes for perfect conformity to the pattern of Christ, for the actual possession (as the gift of God, never as a meritorious work) of righteousness which he now has only in part and in faith. And it is made clear that, although Luther had an imperfect understanding of the relation of the Church to the world, his doctrine of the two Kingdoms was far less dualistic than is sometimes supposed. The recent statement of the Church Assembly Social and Industrial Council that in Lutheranism "the secular power was given free licence to perform its functions without definable moral inhibitions" (*The National Church and the Social Order*, p. 31) is surely unfair to Luther. He did maintain that the State must not be subordinate to the Church as in the Papacy; he did repudiate the use of force in the interests of the Kingdom of God; but he also affirmed the responsibility of the Church to declare the Word of God in criticism of the abuse of secular authority and power—a Word of God which works powerfully to reshape the *ordinationes* in obedience to the will of God.

Calvin's "Eschatology of Hope" was more activist, stressing the mighty acts of God in Christ, in virtue of which the Church now engages in the task of extending the Kingdom of Christ on earth.

His strong doctrine of the Body of Christ leads him to emphasize that the Church, though sharing already in the ascended life of Christ, must manifest his glory, between the *initium* and the *complementum* of his reign, through humiliation and affliction. The order and form of the Church is thus essentially ambiguous. It is governed by general ordinances and a divinely appointed *rectitudo*, but requires continual reformation by the Word of God and is subject always to the final manifestation of Christ's judgment upon it. The eucharistic presence is real and substantial, but it must not be confused (as by Romans and Lutherans) with the presence at the *Parousia*. Calvin, like Luther, speaks of two Kingdoms, spiritual and political, but he confidently maintains that both belong to the Kingdom of Christ. The Christian hope, for him, is not primarily a future consolation for the godly under trial, but the establishment of the heavenly reign of God upon the earth—partially and progressively within history, finally and perfectly when Christ comes in glory.

Martin Butzer, to whose "Eschatology of Love" a short chapter is devoted, stood much nearer to Calvin than to Luther. His importance for Anglicans lies in the fact that his work *De Regno Christi* (1557) had as its purpose the setting forth of principles for the reorganization of the public and national life of England in obedience to the Gospel of Christ. It would be interesting to know to what extent he influenced our own Reformers in this as in other respects.

R. F. Hettlinger.

St Augustine's College,
Canterbury.

Anglican Orders and Defect of Intention. By Francis Clark, S.J. Longmans. 25s.

Anglican Orders. By Anthony A. Stephenson, S.J. Burns and Oates. 7s. 6d.

Bishop Gore once remarked that the rise of the Christian Church without the fact of the Resurrection would be a greater miracle than the Resurrection itself. As some sort of parallel, I suggest that the sacramental revival in the Anglican Communion during the last 120 years would be a miracle, unknown elsewhere in history, if Anglican Orders were null and void. One of the most striking phenomena of the present age is the desire for "Catholic" practice among Protestants, particularly on the continent of Europe: and wherever this is found, there is an eager desire among the clergy for valid Orders. The late Bishop Herford of the "Evangelical Catholic Church" ordained a number of Nonconformist ministers, including Dr Orchard. Hands have been laid on forty or fifty Lutheran pastors in Germany by Dr Friedrich Heiler, that distinguished *episcopus vagans*. Many foreign pastors have asked to be ordained by Anglican bishops, but this is an unsatisfactory arrangement, as their task is the conversion of their own countrymen. The whole subject is confused, since what matters is that Orders should be valid in the sight of God: whether

they are held to be valid by the Roman Catholic Church is of quite secondary importance. As the sacrament of Holy Order conveys *character*, it may well be possible, as that science develops, to test validity by Radiesthesia. Meanwhile, though intuition is obviously fallible, the number of relevant stories one hears gives food for thought. Here is one instance. An American Chaplain to the Forces, wearing uniform which does not include a clerical collar, went with others to visit the German mystic Teresa Neumann, who has the stigmata. Several Roman Catholic priests were in the party. It is Teresa's custom to speak first to a priest before taking notice of the others present. On this occasion, to everyone's surprise, she at once approached the priest of the Episcopal Church, despite the absence of obvious clerical attire.

Fr Clark writes with courtesy throughout, and both he and Fr Stephenson claim to view the subject objectively. One of the saddest facts about the Roman Catholic viewpoint, however, is that, as soon as the Pope has spoken officially, history becomes irrelevant. Fr Clark's conclusion was decided for him "certainly and irrevocably" in 1896. At the very least His Holiness exercised "practical infallibility". When a greater historian than Fr Clark was free to consider the subject from every angle (Mgr Duchesne, in 1894) he found Anglican Orders, judged by a historical standard, to be sufficient and valid. His statement is set out at length in Dr Headlam's *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, pp. 283 f. It is well known that Roman theologians differ among themselves and that the grounds on which Anglican Orders have been condemned have repeatedly changed. But as one reads Fr Clark's carefully reasoned book, the amount of such disagreement is somewhat staggering. He is concerned to elucidate in what sense precisely Leo XIII said that the intention was wrong. What did he mean by intention? Seven theories are considered, mostly to be found wanting. Fr Clark maintains that the intention of the ordaining minister who uses the Anglican Ordinal (whether that of 1552 or that in use to-day) must be defective on the "principle of positive exclusion". Parker's consecrators "by manifesting a positive act of will against an essential element of the sacrament of Order, nullified any general 'Christian' intention they may have had, and so on that occasion added to the intrinsic and irremediable defect of form . . . a defect of . . . intention, sufficient . . . to cut off the whole succession at its source". Intention is dealt with at great length, but really the alleged invalidity of the form is the "primary and permanent defect", which cannot be overcome even by Old Catholic bishops taking part in Consecrations.

As one re-reads the 1552 Ordinal with its constant reference to Priesthood (*Sacerdotium*), one rubs one's eyes to think that Fr Clark can seriously believe what he writes. Current teaching about the sacrifices of Masses in the sixteenth century abundantly justified the archbishops, who wrote in *Saepius officio*: "Too precise definitions of the manner of the sacrifice, or of the relation that unites the sacrifice of the eternal Priest and the sacrifice of the Church, which

in some way certainly are one, ought . . . to be avoided rather than pressed". It was made abundantly clear that one priesthood was being carried on, not a new one initiated.

What has just been written applies equally to Fr Stephenson's more ephemeral little book, in which *form* rather than intention is again regarded as primary. The book consists substantially of articles which appeared in *The Month*. A chapter is contributed by Dr Mascall, followed by the author's reply. Fr Stephenson writes as a journalist, scattering about words like "ludicrous", "preposterous", "deplorable", "absurd", etc. He states that an objective presence in the Eucharist is "denied explicitly" in the Articles, despite the well-known elucidation by Bishop Guest of Article 28, which he revised. Few will be impressed by the appendices written by recent converts from Anglicanism.

FREDERIC HOOD.

LONDON.

DELINQUENT SAINTS. By Emil Oberholzer, Jr. Columbia University Press. London: Cumberlege. 48s.

In *Delinquent Saints* Mr Oberholzer has examined the disciplinary action of the Congregational churches in Massachusetts, from the earliest known instances in the 1620s down to about 1830, by which time church discipline, though never formally abolished, had fallen into desuetude. This disciplinary action was based upon the covenant relationship into which church members entered with God and with one another. The Covenant of the First Church of Salem (1629), for instance, states: "We covenant with the Lord, and with one another and doe bynd ourselves in the presence of God to walke together in all his waies, according as he is pleased to reveale himself unto us in his Blessed word of truth." As time went on the covenants were expanded in length until, in Mr Oberholzer's opinion, "they came to resemble modern leases, in which the tenants covenant for several pages but the landlord only for one brief paragraph". The churches thus had a clear charter for disciplining their members for any offence they might give each other and for any deviation from the ways of God. A distinction was made between public and private offences: private offences were brought to the attention of the church only after the provisions of Matt. 18. 15 f. had failed to secure repentance; public offences were tried before the whole church. The aim of the disciplinary system was of course to reconcile the sinner and restore him to the fellowship of the church. To this end the offender might be admonished, suspended or, in extreme cases, and usually only for persistent refusal to repent, excommunicated. The offender's restoration was almost invariably accompanied by a confession, which traditionally was read before the entire congregation on Sunday. Though the practice of public confession was open to criticism, it was never universally abandoned, and those churches which abolished it seem to have done so with reluctance. In his middle chapters, III to XIV, Mr Oberholzer takes us through a long

list of offences which were tried by the churches. These are arranged to correspond roughly to infringements of the Ten Commandments, which were very broadly construed by the puritan churches. Details of innumerable cases are given, but in many instances they provide only rather jejune illustrative material, and one seriously wonders whether these chapters might not with advantage have been compressed. It is to be feared that the length and dullness of this section of the book will betray for many readers the promise of its concise and brilliant title. Mr Oberholzer's final chapter is entitled "The Unattained Utopia". History's comment on the disciplinary system of the saints is that it failed. Theologically minded people will perhaps interpret this failure as a judgment of God. Mr Oberholzer is reluctant to view his subject from a theological standpoint. He notes however: "Jealous of their assumed purity, the churches were not so much interested in winning followers as in keeping people out, and in demonstrating that New England would not tolerate sin." Ethics became dissociated from theology: phariseeism followed, the perennial danger of ecclesiastical legalism.

Mr Oberholzer's 247 pages of text are supplemented by 12 pages of statistical tables, 72 pages of notes, a 34-page bibliographical essay, and an index.

JOHN T. MARTIN.

LONDON.

SHORTER NOTICES

EARLY LATIN THEOLOGY. By S. L. Greenslade. Library of Christian Classics, Vol. V. S.C.M. Press. 30s

We welcomed this "Library of Christian Classics" when it began to appear, and as volume succeeds volume we are moved to praise it more and more. The present volume contains selections from Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome, translated and edited by Professor Greenslade. A better introduction for English readers to the early Latin Fathers, i.e. those who flourished before Augustine, could hardly be contrived. The translations are thoroughly readable and the introductions and notes tell the inexpert reader just what he wants to know.

In making his selections Professor Greenslade has aimed at illustrating Latin thought about the Church, its nature, its constitution and its life. This was a good idea both because it gives a coherence to the volume that a more random or heterogeneous selection would lack, and because this early Latin ecclesiology has had a deep and permanent influence upon the thinking of all Western Christians. Tertullian is represented by "The Prescriptions against Heretics" (in an appendix his indebtedness to Irenaeus is illustrated by some extracts from "Adversus Haereses") and "On Idolatry"; Cyprian by "The Unity of the Catholic Church" and his letters about "The Problem of the Lapsed" and "The Baptismal Controversy"; Ambrose by letters dealing with eight of the great issues in which as a man of

action he was involved; Jerome also by a characteristic selection of his letters.

We have already called attention to the handsome way in which these volumes are produced. They are priced very reasonably.

A. R. V

Religion as Salvation. By Harris Franklin Rall. Longmans. 18s. 6d.

Did Jesus Rise from the Dead? By James Martin. (World Christian Books, No. 12.) Lutterworth Press. 2s. 6d.

Jesus and His People. By Paul S. Minear. (World Christian Books, No. 11.) Lutterworth Press. 2s. 6d.

Dr Rall is Emeritus Professor of Theology at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. His book bears all the marks of a wise and experienced teacher—it is lucid, systematic and tolerant. It bears none of the marks that the words "Biblical Institute" might lead us to expect on this side of the Atlantic. Dr Rall is an American Methodist, which perhaps accounts for his clear-cut division of the Church on most issues into Roman Catholics and Protestants. Nevertheless, most Anglicans would find his book extremely helpful.

Its scope is much wider than its title would suggest. Indeed, it covers almost the whole field of Christian theology. Beginning with an examination of the place of man in the universe, Dr Rall announces the theme of his book in this way. "Man lives in a multi-dimensional world and his life is unique in the relations which he may establish in these many dimensions. This is what salvation means: it is setting a man right in all these relations so that he may have life. This is the Christian insight that man's central and supreme relation is to God and that only from this centre can all the rest be rightly determined."

Passing on next to a consideration of the nature of sin which prevents these right relationships, Dr Rall sees it as "man's No to the call of the higher", something much wider than the current neo-orthodox emphasis on pride. The main part of the book is concerned with the nature of salvation. The New Testament terminology is examined and reinterpreted. Words like grace, repentance, conversion, and sanctification are evaluated and find their place in the pattern of God's action in Christ. Salvation emerges as the "inclusive Christian word for God's total work in giving life to man".

It is no narrow individualistic conception of salvation that Dr Rall offers, but one which "includes individual and social aspects, victory over evil and gift of good, the movement of history and the present salvation, this world, and the life to come". Thus we are led through a consideration of the assistance God gives to man—by Holy Spirit, Church and Sacrament—to the fulfilment of his purpose beyond space and time. The book covers an immense amount of ground in a remarkably effortless way and in its comprehensiveness, its awareness of the contemporary scene, and of historical theology,

provides us with an excellent refresher course in the whole range of Christian thought.

The two latest numbers of World Christian Books are both good value. The Rev. James Martin, a parish minister in Glasgow, has written an admirable study of the historical evidence for the Resurrection under the title *Did Jesus Rise from the Dead?* The difficulties are honestly faced and the arguments are more simply set out than in Frank Morison's *Who Moved the Stone?* This is a book which might well be put into the hands of the intelligent inquirer—teenager or older—and which should prove useful for anyone who has to give religious instruction.

Professor Paul S. Minear of the Andover Newton Theological School is no stranger to readers in this country. His little book on *Jesus and His People* follows the present fashion of taking a number of New Testament words or phrases and examining their meaning. In this case, however, the topics chosen—"God's People", "The Name", "The Way", "My Brothers and My Mother", "God's Temple", "One Flock, One Shepherd", "Elect Exiles of the Dispersion", "The One New Man"—build up into a picture of the Church and describe the relationship between Christ and his Body. There is a wealth of study—or sermon—material here.

William Neil.

University of Nottingham.

The Waters of Marah. By Peter Hammond. Rockliff. 21s.

Mr Hammond has written a delightful book: no time for its arrival more suitable than the present, and none better to write it than he. His experience of the subject, "The present state of the Greek Church", was gained while he was a guest of the University of Salonike, and then as a representative of the W.C.C. between 1948–50, and his impressions are vivid, perceptive, unobscured by the romantic rose-spectacles of phil-hellenism.

"Les Grecs sont étonnant dans l'adversité" has been the verdict of more than one observer: and the strong impression left by *The Waters of Marah* must both enlighten and inspire any member of an established and relatively comfortable church which has lived too long away from the purifying fires of persecution and adversity. The Greek Church has not undergone one Reformation, but many: and the recent Movements, not nearly as well known as they should be amongst the Franks—the Zoe Brotherhood, the Home Mission, the various student associations and particularly the impressive catechetical schools—all these, mainly run by laymen, have done much to revitalize the sorely tried Greek Church.

We have much to learn ourselves from these experiences: the diaconate a living reality, not just a semi-priesthood; the episcopate, unhedged by barbed bureaucracy, approachable, "primitive" in the sense that the "despotes" is a familiar figure presiding at the liturgy, to be consulted as father and judge; and, above all, the laity, taking

their rightful place as teachers and catechists, or simply as responsible leaders of local Christian communities.

Mr Hammond sees also some of the dangers that dog this young but ancient Church. Where we fear clericalism they should fear nationalism. We are just emerging from the ravages of liberal modernist criticism (perhaps those are our waters of Marah); they are still fighting a rearguard action against Harnack and all that. But the crux of Orthodox life lies not in the theologian's study but in their timeless liturgy, and some of the most obviously striking advances have ensured that from the peasant to the professional man heaven is brought to earth through the worship of the holy common people of God.

In the course of his book Mr Hammond introduces us to some of the great travellers who braved the hazards of Hellenic plumbing when travelling was really dangerous, and they are indeed an attractive company. It is greatly to be hoped that he will, as he says he can, "prolong the list" and introduce us to more of them and their views on "the jolly Easterlings". If he does, the present reviewer hopes that Rockliff will present it as attractively as the present volume with its format, index, illustrations and all.

GRAHAM DOWELL.

IN SEARCH OF QUIET. By Sibyl Harton. Mowbray. 3s.

Here is a pamphlet which contains within its pages a whole world of practicability and common sense—and yet it could be so easy to be rather "in the clouds" about this subject of making one's Retreat. The book is specially intended for those folk who make private retreats, but there is much here of which any retreatant and certainly every retreat-conductor should be aware. The advice on how to spend one's time in retreat, and on what necessities to take with one, is balanced admirably by help on more spiritual matters, such as night-prayers and fasting.

SEVEN STEPS TO HEAVEN. By J. W. C. Wand. Longmans. 3s.

This booklet will be most useful to those who are just beginning to feel the need of giving that "little more" in the practise of their religious life. It is a brief introduction to the spiritual life, and sets out admirably the range and terrain of the ground which the soul covers in this life as it is drawn towards God. There is nothing highbrow or technical about this piece of writing: and in the hands of the intelligent layman who takes his religion seriously it should prove to be both an encouragement and a stimulant for further study in the riches of spirituality.

A Book of Daily Prayer. By Harold Riley. S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d.

Here is a commendable attempt to further the campaign for family prayers—though individuals could use it to their profit in their own private devotions. Every day in the liturgical year (including the Red-letter Saints' Days) is catered for: there is a passage suggested from the Bible and an appropriate collect, many of which have been composed for the purposes of this book. Eric Simmons, O.G.S.

Cambridge.

I Choose the Cloister. By Rosemary Howard-Bennett. Hodder and Stoughton. 10s. 6d.

This pleasantly written and apparently autobiographical story of an Anglican nun's vocation and progress until she is elected Superior of her community is more likely to reassure parents and friends than to elicit vocations. The narrative hardly strikes deep enough to change the course of anyone's life.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here neither implies nor precludes subsequent comment.*)

Bles: Nathaniel Micklem, *The Abyss of Truth* (8s. 6d.); Frank W. Moyle, *About the Bible* (16s.).

Burns and Oates: John M. Todd (Ed.), *The Springs of Morality* (30s.).

Cambridge University Press: L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas* (40s.); John Betjeman, *The English Town in the Last Hundred Years* (3s. 6d.).

Collins: Georges Bernanos, *The Diary of a Country Priest* [Fontana Books] (2s. 6d.); Stewart Mechie, *Trinity College, Glasgow, 1856–1956* (n.p.); F. W. Dillistone, *Christianity and Communication* (12s. 6d.); J. B. Phillips, *St Luke's Life of Christ* (12s. 6d.).

Éditions du Seuil: Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Le Chrétien Bernanos* (n.p.).

Faber and Faber: Denis de Rougemont, *Passion and Society* [a revised and complete translation: the previous edition was reviewed in Theology, June 1940, pp. 459 ff., by C. S. Lewis] (30s.).

Gollancz: Edmund W. Sinnott, *The Biology of the Spirit* (16s.).

Harvill Press: Louis Bouyer, *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism* (18s.).

Hodder and Stoughton: Werner Keller, *The Bible as History* (25s.); Rosemary Howard-Bennett, *I Choose the Cloister* (10s. 6d.).

Librairie Arthème Fayard (Paris): Maurice Nédoncelle, *Existe-t-il une philosophie chrétienne?* (300 frs.).

Mowbray: S. C. Carpenter, *Duncan-Jones of Chichester* (11s. 6d.); E. W. Southcott, *The Parish Comes Alive* (10s. 6d.); Lindsay Dewar, *A Short Introduction to Moral Theology* (3s. 6d.); F. L. Cross (Ed.), *Studies in Ephesians* (12s. 6d.).

Nelson: L. H. Grollenburg, O.P., *Atlas of the Bible* (70s.).

Oxford University Press: John Baillie, *The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought* (15s.); John Hutchison, *Faith, Reason and Existence* (27s. 6d.).

Saint Andrew Press: J. S. Stewart, *Thine is the Kingdom* (7s. 6d.).

Sheed and Ward: Maisie Ward: *They Saw His Glory: An Introduction to the Gospels and Acts* (16s.).

S.P.C.K.: Michael Ramsey, *Durham Essays and Addresses* (12s. 6d.); W. U. Jacob, *Some Principles of Anglicanism* (1s.); G. R. Balleine, *Past Finding Out* (15s. 6d.); Leonard W. Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London 1708–43* (30s.); Martin Thornton, *Pastoral Theology: A Reorientation* (25s.).

Tyndale Press: R. V. G. Tasker, *The General Epistle of James* (7s. 6d.).

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